

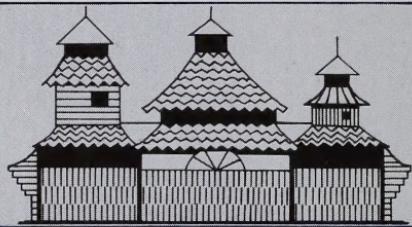
ANTONY HODINKA

The Home of the Ruthenian
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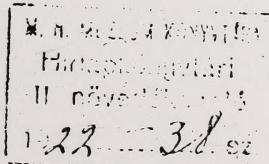


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THE HOME OF THE RUTHENIAN PEOPLE.
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'**G**ENS RUTHENA'—so runs an entry in the Jesuit Fathers' Annals for the year 1652—'...montis Carpathi radices incolit.' But we have a fuller description of the home of the Ruthenian people in a report drawn up by George Lippay, Archbishop of Esztergom (Primate of Hungary) and dated July 2, 1654, which says: 'Sciendum est, ut in regno Hungariae protendi in longum montes, qui vocantur Carpathi a Soepusio usque in Transsilvanicam ditionem, Huszt et Maramaros, ad millaria Hungarica pene 70. Illi montes dividunt Hungariam a Polonia ita ut summitas illorum montium sit terminus utriusque regni. Hos montes inhabitant ex utraque parte Rutheni populi graeci ritus. Ex his, qui pertinent ad Hungariam ex hac parte montium plusquam 300 millia animarum numerantur.'

Only one of the four boundaries—that on the north—is defined at all exactly by later geographical writers, whether Hungarian or foreign; and this boundary is the 'summitas montium' of Lippay—the ridge of the Carpathian range which, running in a semicircle from the Szepes district to Transylvania, is a perfect watershed and, rising in Máramaros—in the extreme east of the Ruthenian territory—to a height of 2,026 metres, decreases in elevation as it approaches the Szepes district, though—apart from the Passes of Jablonicza (931 metres) and Vereczke (945 metres)—it maintains an average height of more than 1,000 metres. This ridge has all the character of an Alpine region; and it is intersected by four passes only—those mentioned above and those of Panter (1,200 metres) and Uzsok (1,012 metres). This almost insurmountable natural obstacle will in itself be sufficient to explain why it is that, despite their racial kinship, the inhabitants of the hither and further slopes of the Carpathians (particularly as belonging to two different countries) have maintained so intermittent an intercourse with one another that they have drifted apart alike in point of costume, language and manners.

Of the other three boundaries of the territory, which are all extremely difficult to define, the one that can—relatively

speaking—be most accurately determined is the eastern (Ruthenian-Roumanian) frontier in Máramaros; for neither of these peoples has expanded at the expense of the other. The eastern frontier of 'Ruthenia' is the river Ruskova; for there is not a single Roumanian village on its right bank or to the north.

The boundary of 'Ruthenia' flanking the right bank of the river Visó reaches the river Tisza at the village of Polyána; and from this point to Nagy-Szöllős the river Tisza forms the boundary line between Ruthenians and Roumanians. The right bank of the same is Ruthenian; the left bank is Roumanian. There are but few exceptions; there being five Ruthenian villages on the left bank, and one Roumanian village—Apsa—on the right bank.

At Nagy-Szöllős the Ruthenian meets the Hungarian boundary; it is here that the great Tisza Lowlands open out at the foot of the hilly region, winding away as far as Varannó. This line is at the same time the lower boundary of the territory inhabited by Ruthenians, who are to be found in the region between Nagy-Szöllős and Varannó as far as the point where the hills merge in the plain. This line too—the Ruthenian-Hungarian boundary—has changed but little since the first settlement of the Ruthenians in the country; for neither the Hungarians nor the Ruthenians have made any attempt to absorb their neighbours or to alter the character of their villages.

It is at Felső-Domonya on the right bank of the river Ung that the Ruthenian boundary meets that of the Slovak territory. This frontier is, however, quite indefinite; so much so that writers endeavouring to determine the boundaries of the Ruthenian area speak of two possible frontiers. The district between these two frontiers is inhabited by 'Slovakized' Ruthenians, who, though they do not use pure Slovak, are no longer pure Ruthenians. The new masters of this territory endeavoured to settle the question radically by declaring that the Ruthenian frontier extends to the river Ung. Thus, the districts to the west (on the right bank of the river) are regarded as Slovak; and the Ung has been appointed as the frontier between 'Slovakia' and 'Ruthenia.'

The researches made by Olaf Broch, the Swedish scholar,

who discovered that the influence of Slovak phonetics is to be felt in the language used by the Ruthenians living north of the Viherlat and Poprisni hills, have been taken as sufficient ground for incorporating this territory too in 'Slovakia,' though it is quite evident that its inhabitants are not Slovaks in point either of speech or race, or in other respects.

At the Parliament of 1495 the Hungarian Estates decided that the Ruthenians should not pay tithes; consequently, the tithe-rolls contain a note referring to the villages of the counties of Sáres, Zemplén and Ung—'Rutheni sunt, non decimant.' With the help of these tithe-rolls we are able to compile a list of the villages in the disputed territory which were originally Ruthenian; and in this manner we can fix the exact boundaries of the language-area. However, we have other certain evidence enabling us to settle the question, viz., the census compiled by the officials of domains or by other trustworthy persons on the basis of information supplied by the elders of the villages or by their 'settlement agents.' Both sets of lists are equally reliable: for, though it was the interest of non-Ruthenians to be regarded as members of that people, in order to evade the obligation of paying tithes, the collectors of tithes ('decimatores'), in order to prevent any diminution of the revenue derived from that source—a revenue 'farmed' by the King for the purpose of paying the expenses of the garrisons of the fortresses and therefore under strict control—were careful not to tolerate any increase of the number of Ruthenians, while the lists compiled by the officials of domains are very exact in differentiating between Ruthenian and non-Ruthenian villages, since the taxes paid and the service rendered by Ruthenian villages to the lords of the manor were quite different to those due from the Slovak and Hungarian villages of the respective domains. The revenue from the latter villages was far greater than that from the Ruthenian ones; consequently, it was to the interest of the lord of the manor to see that the number of Ruthenians, who paid less taxes but did more service, should not be increased by the inclusion of Slovaks, who, while they did less socage work, paid more in taxes.

From these lists we learn that, in the domain of Ungvár, in 1631, there were two 'hundreds' (processus or districtus)

with Ruthenian villages. In 1671, we find three 'hundreds,' with altogether forty-two Ruthenian villages which have preserved their character down to the present day; the number of Slovak and Hungarian villages being fifteen and four respectively, and their territory being divided into 'reeveships.' Of the four 'districts' of the domain of Homonna (to the W. from the Viherlát and Poprisni hills northwards to the frontier ridge), two belonged to the Slovaks and four to the Ruthenians. In these districts the total number of Ruthenian villages was sixty-six, that of the Slovak villages only fifty-two. Of the ninety-five villages contributing to the farms belonging to the domain of Makovicza (county of Sáres), only six were Slovak, the rest—eighty-nine in all—being inhabited by Ruthenians not liable to the payment of tithes. To the south-east of these villages belonging to the domain of Makovicza, in the county of Zemplén, were to be found a few Ruthenian villages forming part of the domain of Sztrepkó (six in all); and, to the south of the same, six others belonging to the domain of Varannó-Csicsva. Of the seven villages attached to the castle of Sáres, two are Ruthenian, the other five being Slovak; to the west, in the same county, are the villages of the domain of Palocsa, and, in the county of Szepes, the Ruthenian villages of the domain of Lubló, which together form a compact language-area; while the Ruthenian villages of the domain of Murány (county of Gömör) are isolated and form a linguistic 'island.'

From the above data, which are absolutely reliable, we have no difficulty in fixing the point of contact between Ruthenians and Slovaks and in delimiting with unfailing accuracy the Ruthenian frontier in the counties of Zemplén, Sáres and Szepes. We are quite ready to admit—as has been proved by the researches of Olaf Broch—that the language of the inhabitants of these villages (known in the past as 'Rutheni' and registered as such) shows undeniable traces of the influence of the Slovak tongue on its phonology; but this fact alone is not sufficient reason for regarding as Slovak a people which, down to 1848, was treated differently in respect of taxation, and whose manner of dress, religion and usages are so completely divergent from those of its Slovak neighbours, particularly in view of the fact that the speech of the inhabitants

of the villages recorded as 'Slovak' in the above-mentioned lists is the so-called 'Sáres dialect,' and differs considerably from the language of the West Slovaks. It must, however, be admitted on the other hand, that while there has been no attempt at absorption either on the Ruthenian-Roumanian or on the Ruthenian-Hungarian frontier (and there can, therefore, be no question of 'oppression' in the latter case), during a period of less than a century there has been so effective a process of Slovakization all along the extended line of contact between Ruthenians and Slovaks that, as a result of the annexation of its territory by the Czecho-Slovak State, the Ruthenian people living at the foot of the Carpathians bids fair to disappear as an independent unit within a very short time; and this despite that people's natural unwillingness to be absorbed.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

The wealth or welfare of a people depends, not so much on the favourable or unfavourable character of the soil and the climate, as on its preference for particular sources of economic power, its economic capacity, its opportunities for the realization of its economic products, etc.

The Ruthenians live in hilly country, amid forests; the soil is almost without exception barren. Nor is the climate better; it is wild, bleak and hard. The territory inhabited by this people consists almost exclusively of the valleys of rivers rushing down from the ridge of the frontier mountain-range to the Hungarian Lowland plain. In summer the heat is intense in the lower parts of the valleys, while on the mountains cold winds predominate. Winter comes early; at the end of August the weather in the Verchovinas is that of a chilly, rainy autumn. Almost every year enormous damage is done by the early and late frosts. The thick snow impedes communication and is an obstacle to transport; while, when the snow melts, the rushing torrents create enormous havoc. In winter the temperature often sinks to 25 c.; and this extreme cold devastates orchards and even forests.

As a result of the unfavourable character of these two factors, the Ruthenian people has to struggle for subsistence. In old records—particularly economic 'instructions'—the

Ruthenian vassals are spoken of as 'paupers'; though for two centuries they were actually well-to-do.

The wooded character of the territory makes cattle-breeding the natural occupation of the inhabitants. The scarcity of arable land, the unfavourable character of the soil and the severity of the climate are sufficient reasons to explain that the Ruthenians have but little opportunity of devoting themselves to agriculture. The climate has always played a most important part in the economic life of this people. There is a point in this territory beyond which no maize can grow or ripen; here even the inhabitants (if unable to procure a certain amount of wheat by working in the Hungarian Lowlands) are compelled to live exclusively on oats, the principal product of this district called 'Verchovina.' To the west of the same the country is called 'Krajna,' and produces barley, potatoes and, in particular, maize. The forests of the 'Verchovina' are pine; those of the 'Krajna' districts oak and beech; and the mast supplied by the latter, in the event of a bad crop, supplies the place of maize or barley as food for the pigs. Hitherto, in the 'Verchovina' sheep-breeding and in the 'Krajna' districts cattle and pig-breeding has been the principal occupation of the inhabitants. The live-stock of the seven Ruthenian villages in the eastern half of the Máramares 'Verchovina' (1600) consisted of ninety-seven horses, 407 oxen, 521 cows, 678 pigs, and 2,821 sheep; these figures showing the preponderance of sheep-breeding in the 'Verchovina' districts. The same is proved by data of the year 1741, when the live-stock of seventeen Ruthenian villages belonging to the district of the Rónaszék salt-office (in the Máramaros 'Verchovina') consisted of 672 oxen, 837 cows, 121 heifers, 539 calves, 5,038 sheep, and only 487 pigs.

Still more surprising are the data referring to the Ruthenian villages belonging to the domain of Munkács (county of Bereg), where, in 1635, the total live-stock of these 124 communities consisted of 752 horses, 16,824 oxen and cows, 5,500 pigs, and 13,229 sheep and goats. The distribution of this live-stock shows that in the ninety-one villages of the Lower District there were altogether 4,943 sheep, as opposed to the 4,166 sheep of the thirty-three villages of the Upper District; while the number of horned cattle in the

Lower District was 13,089, in contrast to the 3,735 of the Upper District.

To the west of Máramares the hills decrease in elevation; this region—'Krajna'—is truly a Lowland district compared with the Highlands above spoken of: consequently it is better adapted for the breeding of horned cattle and pigs, as is shown by the following data referring to the live-stock of the ninety-one villages (eighty-five Ruthenian, six Slovak) belonging to the Makovicza domain, viz., 678 horses, 2,448 oxen, 2,266 cows, 3,133 pigs, and 2,347 sheep (in 1675); 318 horses, 1,362 oxen, 1,340 cows, 1,819 pigs, and 1,446 sheep (in 1690); 213 horses, 938 oxen, 747 cows, 502 pigs, and 904 sheep (in 1711); 91 horses, 305 oxen, 279 cows, no pigs or sheep (in 1717).

As the above figures prove, the Ruthenians of the Lowland district never attached any particular importance to horse-breeding, devoting more attention to the breeding of horned cattle. Though the criterion of wealth was the number of oxen possessed, we find that the number of cows everywhere exceeds that of oxen—a fact due to the importance of milk and dairy produce. In the middle of the XVIIth century there were many villages in the counties of Máramares and Bereg with farmers possessing ten oxen; whereas in the counties of Ung and Zemplén there was scarcely one to be found, the majority of the well-to-do farmers possessing only four oxen. In the county of Sáres even such were rarely to be met with.

Pig-breeding was the principal occupation of the inhabitants of the lower districts of the county of Ung and even more of the county of Bereg. In 1625 there was a farmer at Nagy-Rákes who, despite the fact that he was a vassal, possessed sixty-five pigs. The beech woods covering the slopes of the hills and the oak-forests of the plain provided a plentiful supply of mast; the system of fattening on maize began to come into vogue as a result of deforestation. The Ruthenians had everywhere to breed poultry, for on various occasions they had to supply the tables of the lords of the manor with eggs, chickens, ducks and geese, in almost incredibly large quantities (e.g., in 1645 the Ruthenian vassals of the domain of Munkács had to provide 2,462 chickens and 9,824 eggs,

while in 1682 the figures were: 3,845 chickens, 7,388 eggs and 962 geese). The Ruthenians still keep poultry, though they do no trade in them.

An ancient proverb says that the Ruthenian dislikes three things, viz., horses, roads and forests. His ancestors, when they first settled in the country, had to set to work to extirpate primeval forests; later generations had to supply the domains with all kinds of carpentry products, particularly with wooden tiles. To-day the Ruthenian is still an able carpenter, and makes his own requisites—dishes, plates, farm implements, spades and shovels, rakes, etc., though he does not trade in them. Special mention should be made of the Ruthenian raftsmen of the Tisza district; though, as a result of the opening of the railway in 1873, they were deprived of this source of subsistence, without finding any other means of employment to replace it.

The Ruthenians can scarcely hold their own as cultivators of the soil. Formerly they were driven to find other sources of revenue; and it is only of recent years that they have begun to engage in this branch of economics. In their eyes arable land was not—and could not be—of the same value as meadows and pastures. Even where they ploughed and sowed, they gave the preference to leguminous plants. They bestow but little care on dung-heaps, as they have a preference for thwaite land, which they manure with the ashes of burned trees. Their skill with the scythe is far-famed; they are in the habit of migrating in quest of agricultural labour to the Hungarian Lowlands, where they are esteemed for their honesty.

HISTORY OF THE RUTHENIAN PEOPLE AT THE FOOT OF THE CARPATHIANS.

The next questions that must arise, are: when did this people settle in its present home? what has been its lot,—its past,—in that region? The statement made by various writers —among others by Hungarians, too—to the effect that Ruthenian shepherds from Trans-Carpathia crossed the mountains even prior to the occupation of Hungary by the Magyars, is open to dispute. We have data proving that there were Ruthenians on the other side of the frontier ridge; for Constantinus Porphyrogenetes mentions ‘boiki’ and ‘lemki,’

which were Ruthenian tribes, while, in a report on his missionary travels among the peoples of Eastern Europe addressed to the Emperor Henry II, St Bruno says:—‘Senior Ruthenorum . . . duos dies cum exercitu duxit me ipse usque ad regni sui terminum ultimum, quem propter vagum hostem firmissima et longissima sepes undique circumclusit. Me praeeunte cum sociis, illo sequente cum majoribus suis, egredimur portam.’ The ‘senior’ could not have been a ‘king,’ —as the oldest Russian Chronicle (the ‘Povesti vremennyh let’) proves,—but at most the chieftain of a tribe. This latter record dates from about 1007, two centuries after the coming of the Magyars. But we have no data of any kind to show that at this time Cis-Carpathia was an inhabited territory; indeed, everything seems to show that it was not till much later, about the middle of the XIIIth century, that the process of settlement, at first a slow one, began. Czech writers declare that this territory was under Czech rule from 955 to 1003; Polish writers asserting that it was subject to Poland from 1003 to 1026: though these assertions do not prove that it was inhabited. The Poles and the Ruthenians were separated from the Hungarians by the Carpathians; the latter from the Czechs and Moravians by a large expanse of uninhabited forest-land,—the ‘silva Bohemica,’ which was traversed by only a very few paths and was otherwise impassable. The paths were protected, at either end, by gates (‘portae’), which were guarded by ‘spiculatores.’ If not quite impossible, communication between country and country, between people and people, was extremely difficult. Nor was there any surplus population on either side; while neither of the rulers encouraged emigration, though each of them endeavoured to people the uninhabited districts of his country by the introduction of settlers (‘hospites’). We cannot, therefore, speak of aboriginal inhabitants of the Highlands or of Ruthenia below the Carpathians in Hungary; merely of later settlers—immigrants from other countries—spoken of as ‘hospites’ by the Hungarian records. Naturally, the Hungarian kings endowed these settlers with various privileges, by way of encouragement; while what induced the new settlers to come was the hope that their lot would be a better one than in their original homes.

The Ruthenian territory at the foot of the Carpathians, from the lowest elevation to the summit of the ridge, was—until the invasion of the Tartars in 1240—a virgin forest without thwaites, the hunting ground of the Hungarian kings. It was not until after the retirement of Batu Khan—who burned the frontier barricades or ‘indagines’ and ravaged the country for two years—that King Béla IV began to settle this territory also. He presented his son-in-law, Rostislav, the Ruthenian Duke of Csernigov, with the castle of Füzér, in the county of Zemplén; and the first records of Ruthenians in Cis-Carpathia are connected with two villages in the vicinity of that fortress (‘sepulchra Ruthenorum,’ 1254). To the east of these two villages lies Ormezó, which—as its name shows—was the frontier barricade (‘clausura’) of the country. The process of settlement thus begun continued through the following centuries, the new colonists gradually extirpating the primeval forests and peopling the districts of Cis-Carpathian Ruthenia. The land was in the gift of the king, who made donations to the ancestors of many now famous families (e.g., the Berzeviczys, Görgeys, Drueths, etc.), who provided for the colonization of their new estates by the introduction of ‘hospites.’ The former became the lords of the manor (‘domini terrestres’); the latter, their vassals (‘coloni’ or ‘jobbagiones’).

The manner of colonization was as follows. The lord of the manor made a contract with a ‘settlement agent’ (called ‘kenéz’ or ‘soltész’), who provided a certain number of ‘sessions’ with inhabitants, the latter being, for a certain period of years exempt from the payment of rent or other dues and from the performance of socage.

Thus, the history of every village (‘villa’) begins with these contracts. We may therefore compile the history of the colonisation of the Ruthenian territory of Cis-Carpathia by an investigation of the settlement contracts relating to the several villages. Unfortunately, however, the said contracts (called ‘kenézlevél’), like the original deeds of donation (‘litterae donationales’), have in some cases been destroyed. In such cases we have to content ourselves with the evidence of tradition or of the far later lists of dues and socage service (‘urbaria’) made under oath for the several domains,

of which the earliest date from the second half of the XVIth century.

Not a single 'kenézlevél' dating from the second half of the XIIIth century has been preserved. We have no data concerning the location of any villages in the Ruthenian territory of Cis-Carpathia. At the opening of the century, 'Ladislas Ruthenus' had received a donation of land in the district of Párkány, 'Maladik Ruthenus' in the district of Nyitra. We hear at this time of Ruthenians in Kraszna and in the Drave district. The Ruthenian immigrants were thus scattered over the country, though they had already begun to settle in the uninhabited territory beyond the frontier-line of Cis-Carpathia. In the following century large tracts of this territory were granted to settlers in the form of royal donations; and there is no truth in the opinion hitherto prevailing, to the effect that the Ruthenians were first settled in the territory belonging to the domain of Munkács (ceded to him in 1351 by Louis the Great of Hungary) by Theodore, Duke of Podolia, in the second half of the XIVth century. Indeed, it was not from Louis that Theodore received Munkács, but from Sigismund, who presented it to his 'charissimus avunculus' (as he was pleased to call the Duke of Podolia) and to his brother Basil. Nor have we any data to show that Theodore colonized a single village; though the territory in question, which in 1231 was still known as 'silva Beregu,' was peopled to a certain extent in the period between 1294 and 1414.

We have written records to prove that in the XIVth century, in the counties of Ung, Bereg and Máramares, there were vassals called 'walachi,' who had waywodes of their own. Professor Kadlec, of the Prague University, in his book entitled *Roumanians and Roumanian Law in Slav and Hungarian Territories* (1916), informs us that—some time in the XVth century—the original Roumanian population of the villages belonging to the domain of Munkács disappeared, their place being taken by Ruthenians. How, and exactly when, the change took place, we have no means of knowing; though the evidence at our disposal shows that it must have been between 1466 and 1493. Consequently, the ancestors of the Ruthenian inhabitants of the 'Krajna' district of Mun-

kács cannot have settled there before 1466; and the Roumanians originally settled there must either have emigrated or been Ruthenianized.

The new settlers must have come from the counties of Ung, Zemplén or Sáres; for, as Kadlec tells us, the county of Bereg was originally colonized by Roumanians too,—like the county of Máramares, where we first hear of them in a record dated 1328. The information supplied by the Prague Professor is of particular interest in view of the fact that to-day 'Slovakia' extends right up to the river Ung, the original Ruthenian inhabitants of the 'Krajna' districts of the counties of Sáres and Zemplén being thus absorbed by the Slovska. As Kadlec does not tell us the exact date of the colonization of North Hungary by Ruthenians, we look forward with peculiar interest to the appearance of his promised work on the history of the Ruthenians at the foot of the Carpathians.

The statement that the 'Krajna' district of Munkács was originally inhabited by Roumanians, contains a refutation of the theory that the district was first settled by Theodore Keriatevitch, Duke of Podolia. When the latter came there (1394) he found Roumanians already settled. We, too, must refuse to accept that theory; but we deny the statement that the original population was Roumanian. Kadlec himself quotes the record (1299-1307) which speaks of Gregory, Count of Bereg, as 'officialis ducis Ruthenorum.'

In 1364 the royal domain of Makevicza was granted to the family of Czudar; the 'Krajna' districts of the counties of Ung and Zemplén—later the domains of Homenna and Ungvár-Nevicke—were presented to the family of Drugeth (di Merlotte), Italians from the south of France; while the domain of Munkács—the 'Krajna' district of the county of Bereg, and the 'Verchevina'—was given to Queen Elizabeth, and, later, to Theodore Keriatevitch. Unfortunately, the deeds of donation have disappeared; consequently, we are unable to ascertain which villages belonged to the several domains at the time of donation. But we know that the process of colonization and the work of transforming the forest land into arable land began in the XIVth century; for records dating from the opening and middle of the following century enumerate so large a number of villages as situate in the

territories of these domains that some at least of the same must have arisen in the preceding century.

The process of colonization begun in the latter half of the XIIith century continued on a still larger scale in the XIVth century; to the east of the Szepes district (where Saxons had settled in the middle of the XIIth century, in the days of King Géza II), in the county of Sáres, the work of settlement proceeded most rapidly in the XIVth and XVth centuries. A deed dated 1471 enumerates almost all the villages subsequently belonging to the domain of Makevicza; and practically all the villages included in the domain of Sztrepkó were in existence by the middle of the XVth century. The colonization of the domains of Homonna, Ungvár-Nevicke and Munkács-Szentmiklós, however, was not complete until the XVIth or XVIIth century. These later settlements are more accessible for the purposes of study, since numerous 'settlement contracts' referring to them have come down to us; indeed, in the second half of the XVIth century began the compilation of the registers of the revenues of the lords of the manor, while—from the middle of that century—we have at our disposal the general tax-rolls, in which all new settlements are designated by the words 'nova villa.' We must, however, refrain from a detailed investigation of these records in this place, contenting ourselves with an endeavour to discover whence and why these Ruthenian settlers came to a mountainous region so unfavourable from the standpoint of subsistence.

The 'settlement contracts' do not offer any information as to *whence* the settlement agents proposed to recruit vassals. The only stipulation made in some of these contracts is that the settlers shall be recruited from some *foreign* territory; but this alone gives us no clue to the exact region from which they came. However, as it is always a question of 'Rutheni' there can be no doubt that the people involved must have been the Ruthenians from Trans-Carpathia, as the Ruthenians of Cis-Carpathia are surrounded on three sides by older settlers,—on the east by Roumanians, on the south by Magyars, and on the west by Slovaks.

We have already referred to St Bruno's letter, which speaks of a Ruthenian 'senior' (c. 1007). In the XIIth and XIIIth centuries we find the kings of Hungary leading

armies into Galicia; and the two countries were on unfriendly terms during the greater part of the latter century. But it was from Hungary that Rostislav, son of Michael, Grand Duke of Kiev,—the husband of Anne, daughter of Béla IV of Hungary,—endeavoured to enforce his claim to the dukedom of Galicia; and he was granted the castle of Fûzér with its dependencies, among the latter being Visnyó and Megyeród, which are spoken of as ‘possessiones ruthenicales.’ This fact proves that the settlement of the Ruthenian territory at the foot of the Carpathians began—in the lower part of the county of Zemplén—as early as the second half of the XIIIth century. Later on, Leo, son of Daniel Romanovitch (Rostislav’s rival) obtained the hand of the Hungarian princess Constance, and thereby became a claimant to the throne of Hungary; he is the ‘dux Ruthenorū’ referred to above, whose ‘officialis’ was Gregory, Count of Bereg. King Robert Charles of Hungary tells us that the Galician pretender was brought into the country by a certain Peter. The said pretender owned the Bereg district too; though we have no positive evidence that this fact involved any settlement of Ruthenians.

The Ruthenians of the part of Trans-Carpathia adjoining the counties of Sáres and Zemplén are popularly known as ‘lemkes,’ those inhabiting the part of Trans-Carpathia adjoining the counties of Ung and Bereg and part of the county of Máramares as ‘bojkes.’ The Slovak name for the Ruthenians of Sáres is ‘lemak’; that applied to the Ruthenians of Ung, Bereg and Máramares, is ‘bojki’: from this fact it is natural to suppose that the Hungarian Ruthenians came originally from beyond the Carpathians,—in other words, that they were not aborigines. The process of settlement must have been a gradual one; and, as their new homes had been uninhabited before, they formed coherent, compact language ‘islands.’ And the names given by Constantinus Porphyrogenetes coincide with those quoted above; so it seems quite evident that these Ruthenians could not have come from any other part, particularly as there are no Ruthenians anywhere else in the neighbourhood.

And now we must ask ourselves *why* they came.

The new settlers did not come over in masses; so we need not attribute their coming to the pressure from without. As

the process of settlement lasted for a long time, the conditions that urged them to migrate must have continued in force during the whole period. They came voluntarily; consequently the reason that prevailed on them to change their home must have been the fact that their situation in Hungary was more favourable than beyond the mountains. The dukedom of Galicia,—in which, according to their own chronicle, the feuds between the feudal lords were incessant,—was, in 1340, subjected to Polish rule; the Ruthenian nobility was gradually displaced by the Polish 'shlachta,' which absorbed the same; and matters were made worse by the oppression of the Ruthenian peasantry. The latter naturally endeavoured to escape from a situation that became more and more intolerable; and many of them, as we have seen, found their way to Hungary, to the wooded districts at the foot of the Carpathians, taking with them their desire for vengeance on their oppressors. We know that, during the XVIIth century, the Ruthenian peasants (though the Ruthenian, with but few exceptions, is neither a thief nor a robber, neither blood-thirsty nor warlike in disposition) continually ravaged and harried the Trans-Carpathian territory, from Sáres to Máramares. Many were the complaints lodged by the Poles on this account, both with the authorities of the said counties and with the Court in Vienna.

Yet it was not merely in search of a refuge that the Ruthenians of Galicia came to Hungary; they found the conditions of subsistence in Cis-Carpathia more favourable than in their old homes. Otherwise they would naturally not have stayed; and we have written evidence of their prosperity, both in the claims of the Vienna Court laid before the Hungarian Parliaments in the second half of the XVIth century, and in the reports referring to the fortunes of the Hungarian Ruthenians compiled in the XVIIth century.

As already mentioned, the Ruthenians are mentioned in resolutions of the Hungarian Parliaments of 1484 and 1495, which exempted 'Ruthenos, Rascianos, Valachos et similes schismaticos' from payment of tithes; as the resolutions of the Parliament of 1551 explain, because they paid their tithes to their own priests. The exemption is renewed by various later Parliaments, the reason given being that 'Walachi et Rutheni

re pecuaria sola se sustinent et tuguria montana inhabitant'; or, to quote the still more definite pronouncement of the Parliament of 1569, that 'domos proprias non habent, sed tantum in silvis et montibus in casis habitantes, non contemnendum pecorum numerum alunt.' There was a dispute between the Hungarian Estates and King Maximilian, who, in support of his claim that the Ruthenians should be compelled to pay at least half of the tithes, used the specious argument that 'iniquum plane et longe indignissimum est, Hungaros, qui veri et naturales regni possessores sunt, dicam et decimas solvere, Ruthenos vero et Walachos, advenas et peregrinos, de fructibus regni non minus quam Hungari viventes, tamquam aliquos nobiles et Hungaris meliores, quasi in despectum hungaricae gentis liberos et exemptos esse debere, ac cum in hoc periculoso regni statu Hungari pro defensione regni non solum contribuant, verum etiam alia multa subire et praestare cogantur, illos tamquam otiosos spectatores ab omni onere velle esse liberos.' But the Estates would not yield on this point, referring the King to the laws of Matthias Corvinus and Uladislas II, which had exempted the Ruthenians from the payment of the taxes demanded. The dispute was renewed in 1603, when Gaizkofler, the 'Reichspfennigmeister' of the German Empire (who had very little to do with the affair) wrote a long report in favour of the claim made by the King-Emperor, in which he argued that the villages in the mountain districts had increased in numbers and advanced in prosperity, and were equally liable to contribute to the funds required for the defence of Christianity. The reply of the Estates was categorical enough:—'quomodo et a quibus decimae exigi debeant, exstant praecedentium annorum clarissimae constitutiones. Arbitrantur itaque hoc tempore iis in rebus nihil innovandum, sed jam antea superinde sancitos articulos servandos esse.' And the King's deputy, Archduke Matthias, advised the monarch to desist, as any attempt to force matters might drive these impoverished people into the arms of the Poles or the Turks.

The attitude adopted by the Vienna Court, as shown in the King's consistent attempt to prevail on the Hungarian Estates to change their policy towards the Ruthenians, was due to a report drawn up in 1570 by a Commission sent from

Vienna, under Nicholas Salm, jun., to investigate conditions in the territory at the foot of the Carpathians. This report called the attention of the Court to the 'dangerous' character of these new-comers, who paid no tithes (except to their priests) and were making laws of their own, abusing the 'liberty' accorded them by the Hungarians. There can be no doubt that it was this 'liberty,' which is such a thorn in the side of the Austrian Commission, which served as the chief inducements to the Ruthenians to settle in Hungary.

The Vienna Court, on receiving the report of the Commission, thought of removing the Ruthenians altogether from the territory at the foot of the Carpathians. Called upon to express an opinion on the matter, the Szepes Chamber, whose members should have been quite familiar with the character of the inhabitants of that territory, declared (1571) that the Ruthenians were a people composed of robbers capable of any villainy; that the landed proprietors were merely amused by the rascalities of these vassals, which they not only tolerated, but actually countenanced; that the Ruthenians '*rem pecuariam boum, vaccarum, ovum et caprarum magna ex parte exercent . . . et habent alios multos modos parandae pecuniae*'; that '*divites sunt et aureis ducatis quam plurimum abundant,*' etc. They should be driven away like the plague; such a course would not only be useful and profitable, but would please God. Yet this could not be done without much bloodshed; and for many other reasons it would be inopportune to attempt to get rid of these pestilent Ruthenians thoroughly, root and branch. The Chamber recommended two expedients to keep their lawlessness in check: (1) that all offenders should be punished in an exemplary manner by the general in command of the Highland district, the probable result being that the Ruthenians would either reform or escape to Russia, or (2) they should have the same burdens imposed on them as were being borne by the Magyars, Germans and Slovaks,—in particular the payment of tithes to the Roman Catholic clergy and the performance of public duties, the probable result of such a measure being that they would either be reduced to subordination or would 'filter back' to their old homes beyond the frontier. The more probable alternative was that they would acquiesce in the new

order of things. 'Nullum est dubium,' continues the report, 'quin regnicolae, qui Ruthenis colonis abundant, propositis mediis vehementer contrariatur et omnem lapidem sunt meturi, quo conditio Ruthenorum in eodem, quo a memoria hominum stetit, futura quoque in tempora permaneat statu. . . . Accedit ad hoc quod natio Ruthenica ex medullis hujus regni usque adeo est firmata, ditata et incrassata, ut jam *eximia libertate* non solum insolescere, sed etiam recalcitrare et latrocinari incipiat, consentientibus illis dominis terrestribus quibus ideo sunt chari, quod quaevis onera illis imposita praestant . . . , ut in commune proverbium jam abierit, quod qui colonos Ruthenos habet, is paratam coquinam habere videatur.'

The above report throws an instructive light on the situation of the Ruthenians in these days. We see everywhere in these official documents the stress laid on the *liberty* enjoyed by the Ruthenian people, which—in the eyes of the officialdom of that period—did in no wise deserve such treatment. These documents reveal the hostile feelings fostered by the Austrians and Germans of the time towards the Ruthenians. The official view of the character of these people sank deep into the minds of the Germans, as we see on reading *Simplissimus*, where the Ruthenians are spoken of as forest robbers and highwaymen. This impression remained in force for two centuries; and the Germans did all they could either to reduce the Ruthenians to subservience or to drive them out of the country altogether—a plan which they in part succeeded in carrying into effect. At the same time the documents show that the Hungarian landed proprietors openly defied the hostility of the Germans of Austria and protected their Ruthenian vassals. The hypocritical attempt of the Chamber of Szepes to persuade the Hungarians to believe that their Ruthenian compatriots were being treated too leniently—far better than the Hungarians themselves—proved of no avail, despite the assertion that the Ruthenians were 'wealthy and possessed an abundance of ducats.' The latter—the fruits of patient industry and the exertions of men who, in the words of the Chamber, 'seminaturam non usque adeo copiosam eamque levem siliginis, hordei et avenae faciunt'—were coveted by the Court for military purposes. But even the Chamber had

to admit that the wealth of this people—their *liberty*—was not injurious from the public standpoint, since the Ruthenians paid dues and rendered considerable service to their overlords, whom they also provided with an abundance of good things.

From what has been quoted above it may be seen that our answer to the question *why* the Ruthenians migrated to Cis-Carpathia was correct; their situation here was a far better one than that they had been in beyond the frontier mountains.

That the assertion of the Chamber concerning the wealth of the Ruthenians was no mere phrase, may be seen from the data referring to their live-stock contained in the records of the XVIIth century compiled for the lords of the manor. These records also enumerate the dues payable and the socage service due to their lords; thus we may see for ourselves exactly how they stood in respect of assets and liabilities.

Cattle-breeding being their chief occupation, we may take the same as a standard by which to judge their wealth.

To take first cases of individual owners selected at random in the county of Máramares in 1600, in the village of Rahó, Michael Orosz possessed six cows, six horses, and 300 sheep; in the village of Folsó-Róna, Philip Nagy owned four horses, four oxen, eight cows, five pigs, and 200 sheep, while there were two vassals in the same village each possessing 200 sheep and thirteen pigs; the wealthiest peasant in the village of Iza (Alexius Bereczk) possessed sixteen oxen, three cows, sixteen pigs, and sixty sheep.

To take the aggregate possessions of districts, we find that in the county of Bereg (the two domains of Munkács and Szent-Miklós) there were in 1645 and 1648 respectively altogether 1,218 horses, 14,117 head of horned cattle, 13,835 goats and sheep, and 13,160 pigs. Taking these figures as our basis, we may reckon that there must have been some 120,000 head of horned cattle, sheep and pigs in the region stretching from Máramares to the Szepes district; and, as at this time the number of Ruthenians cannot have been more than 10,000, we get an average of twelve animals a head (exclusive of horses), a possession which—at that period—might safely be spoken of as ‘wealth.’ There were various classes of

Ruthenians ('foot-workers,' who did all the work themselves, and 'oxen-workers,' who employed oxen for ploughing, carrying, etc.; 'cottiers,' with or without houses); there were even 'beggars': but there was not a single vassal or serf who did not possess some animals. Indeed, in 1682, in the whole domain of Mehács there were only twenty-four 'beggars,' a fact that is further proof of the well-being of this people.

Towards the close of the XVIIth century we find a certain falling-off in pig-breeding, a fact due, no doubt, to the Polish invasion of 1657.

The space at our disposal does not admit of a detailed treatment of the statistics relating to the economic position of the Ruthenians of Cis-Carpathia; but from what has been said it will be seen that they were predominantly cattle-breeders in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries,—an occupation which the climate and the soil of the territory inhabited by them compelled them to adopt. We see, further, that they were wealthy; and it seems quite clear, if we take into consideration the liberty which they enjoyed and the wealth which they amassed in Hungary, that the Ruthenians living in Trans-Carpathia were induced to migrate across the mountains by the fact that their lot on this side was better than that which was their share beyond the Carpathians..

The process of migration lasted till about the middle or rather till the eighties of the XVIIth century; at the latter period almost all the villages existing to-day in the counties of Ung and Bereg had been colonized. And it would seem that—apart from a gradual falling-off of a periodical character—their cattle-breeding too prospered until the time referred to above. Then there ensued so rapid a decline that the Ruthenian people has never been able to get over its effects.

Taking data at random, we find that, in the domain of Munkács, the live-stock possessed by the Ruthenians in 1682 was: 707 horses, 3,601 oxen, 4,590 cows, 6,233 pigs, and 12,488 sheep; whereas, in 1691, the figures were: 101 horses, 309 oxen, 446 cows, 481 pigs, and 792 sheep. At the same time the number of serfs decreased in proportion, while there was a corresponding increase in the number of un-tilled plots or 'sessions.'

The cause of this most remarkable phenomenon will be self-evident to the reader who has studied what has been said above; but we shall return to the question later.

Before doing so, it will be of advantage to deal with the question of the taxes or dues and the services due by the Ruthenian vassals to their overlords. We find from the records that the taxes or dues were payable by 'session'; consequently it is evident that the feudal lords would have been acting against their own interests had they allowed or encouraged the impoverishment of their serfs. The dues were payable either in kind (marten-skins, oats, hay) or in cash. Besides, the vassals had to perform certain services (ploughing, sowing, reaping, mowing, hay-making, gathering-in of the crops); and those villages which lay on the banks of rivers had to supply the lords of the manor every Friday with fish or —failing the same—with chickens and eggs. That the burdens thus imposed were not excessive, is shown by the fact that the villages belonging to the various domains contained a sufficiently large proportion of persons possessing whole or half 'sessions' (e.g., in the domain attached to the castle of Huszt, the village of Bustyaháza contained thirteen whole and nine half 'sessions,' the village of Iza sixteen whole and fourteen half 'sessions').

In all domains, as has been said, the 'session' was the unit of taxation; though the size of the 'session' differed in the various domains. In 1645, in the domain of Munkács, the total number of 'sessions' was 2,364, that of 'sessions' held by Ruthenians 1,305; in 1682, the total number of 'sessions' was 2,770, that of 'sessions' held by Ruthenians 1,700. At the same periods the total population was 3,976 and 4,670 respectively, the number of Ruthenians being 2,683 and 3,739 respectively. The cottiers who lived in others' houses had to do agricultural labour only. The inhabitants of districts at a distance from the respective castle were permitted by Gabriel Bothlen, Prince of Transylvania, to redeem their 'burg-service' by payment of taxes in kind or in cash; this being particularly the case with the military service required by the owners of castles. In addition there were pasturage and mastage tithes.

In other ways too the vassals contributed to the needs of

their overlords; making candle-wicks, providing pitch, pine-torches, and tiles, supplying lime-bark and ropes, gathering nuts and mushrooms and picking hops, providing grouse, butter, honey, cheese, and salt, and even deer,—these latter items explaining the statement made by the Szepes Chamber to the effect that 'qui colonos Ruthenos habet, is paratam coquinam habere videatur.'

Some villages received exemption from the performance of the usual socage service by the performance of other special service (e.g., 'the supply of staves and hoops for barrels, the making of wooden tiles, troughs, mattocks, spades, the supply of timber for sawing, the laying of drains, the carrying of wood, the making of wooden vessels, the fattening of pigs, the supply of charcoal, etc.); the persons involved being thus allowed and encouraged to ply a special trade or craft.

Such was, in brief, the sum total of the taxes and services due by the vassals in the several domains. The latter changed from time to time, as the officials of the domains had full powers to give what orders they pleased as regards the nature of the same; and there can be no doubt that they gradually increased the measure of the same. But the feudal lords gave their officials definite instructions to observe moderation, and in particular not to oppress 'poverty.' Endeavours were indeed made (e.g., on three occasions in the domain of Makevieza) to alleviate the condition of the serfs by commutation or changing the character of the socage service to the advantage of the vassals; but the burdens imposed were certainly heavy enough, though no doubt in proportion to the capacity of the Ruthenians, who would otherwise not have achieved that standard of well-being which impelled the Szepes Chamber to call them 'divites.' And, to refer once more to the sentence of the report of the Szepes Chamber which alludes to the well-supplied larders of the overlords of the Ruthenian colonists, we read in a record of the Makevicza domain that the Ruthenian villages 'alterum etiam censem solvebant . . . qui vulgari sermone 'drablia' appellabantur . . . Is . . . in . . . aliis (quoque) pagis non in pecunia, verum *culinario* juxta urbarialem limitationem, puta vitulis, anseribus, gallinis, porcis, etc., ab placidari solebat.' We understand why

'chari sunt dominis terrestribus'; but it is equally true that, even if they groaned under the heavy burdens imposed on them, the Ruthenian vassals clung affectionately to their overlords, who protected them against the claim for the payment of public (State) taxes made by the Vienna Court.

If we would discover the final causes of the migration of the Ruthenians to Cis-Carpathia, we shall find that, in the first place, in Galicia, in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, there was frequent warfare, in consequence of which the people—even those living on the mountain sides—had but little peace, whereas in Cis-Carpathia, during the same period—apart from the Tartar inroad of 1565, the Cossack devastation of 1606, the Polish invasion of 1657, and the havoc committed by the Germans in 1684-8—the Ruthenians living on this side led a fairly quiet life, particularly in the 'Verchovina.' The second cause was undoubtedly the exemption from the payment of tithes and State taxes, while in Galicia the Ruthenians had to pay ground rent (*terragium*), however trifling the amount of the same might be. And, though the Hungarian Ruthenians, too, paid military taxes of various kinds, war service was reserved exclusively for the nobility, the vassals—even if 'hospites'—being unqualified to serve in the army. Nor had the Ruthenians in Hungary to pay any taxes similar to the 'bellicalia' and 'equitalia' imposed on their brethren beyond the borders. Finally (and to my mind this was the most important reason), even as a newcomer, in Hungary the Ruthenian (in all domains alike) could attain the position of 'libertinus,' exempted by deed from all taxes and services due to the feudal lord—an exemption generally confirmed by the descendants of the original grantor, and thus passing naturally to the descendants of the original grantee. Hereby there arose a fairly large number of 'castes' liable at most to perform certain services of a strictly 'confidential' character, and this ensured a position superior even to that of the 'settlement agents.'

There were, indeed, cases where even this measure was superfluous, as in the county of Máramaros; for, from the period when the feudal lord of the castle of Huszt and the domain attached was the Hungarian king or—later—the Prince of Transylvania, we find a numerous lesser nobility,

whose descendants have remained Ruthenians down to the present day. These descendants have now been transported bodily out of the old country in which their ancestors lived and died and transferred to a country of which those ancestors had never heard; and that against their will. Maybe some of these descendants have for one reason or another been torn away from the ancestral soil, just as the autumn winds drive the sere leaves to another district; but it would be absurd to assert that the trees on which those leaves grew have suddenly begun to stand, not on sand, but on clay! Nowhere do we find any trace of a wish on the part of these descendants that their ancestral soil should cease to be Hungarian and be located in Bohemia. Their songs are full of lament and sadness and voice many a complaint, but not a word is said there of any desire that their frontiers should without warning be traced in a foreign land. It is easy enough to demarcate boundaries; but it is surely a course requiring due consideration—an act unintelligible to the ordinary understanding—to rend asunder the bonds of many centuries.

But to return: there is no denying the fact that the position of 'libertinus' open to the new-comers was a novel variety of privilege obtainable by the Ruthenian 'hospites'; and, from what has been said above, it will be clear that all the circumstances involved in the situation described taken together seemed calculated to stimulate the Ruthenians living in Trans-Carpathia to migrate to Cis-Carpathia,—particularly as they could leave Hungary at will, while they had to redeem their liberty if they desired to cross the mountains and come to Hungary.

Thus lived the Ruthenian vassals, 'settlement agents' and 'libertini' in the territory at the foot of the Carpathians described above,—increasing in number, adding to their possessions in land and cattle, disturbed only on four occasions by the din of warfare—right down to 1684-88.

By that time their live-stock had decreased enormously in numbers; the population of their settlements had dwindled considerably; a large proportion of their 'sessions' and even of their villages had disappeared. We have contemporary records to prove this sad fact; and we would next inquire what was the cause of this destruction?

As is well known, it was in 1685 that Helen Zrinyi was besieged in the castle of Munkács by the Austrian army; and the blockade of the fortress lasted until 1688. We have a record stating that ten villages belonging to the domain of Munkács 'were destroyed during the present military expedition' (Socage list of the said domain for the year 1688). It is evident, therefore, that the Ruthenian villages of this domain met their fate during the long siege of the castle; and the Socage list of 1690 observes that the village of Kis-Ilosva 'was destroyed in the year 1684, when the nobles shut up in the castle of Munkács committed the whole estate to the flames.' We know, indeed, from contemporary records that the besieged did raze to the ground ten villages in the vicinity of Rákos, to prevent them serving as winter quarters for the German armies; but it is quite out of the question that they should have 'committed the whole domain to the flames.' On the other hand, we have positive data to show that the German besiegers burned all they could; and this is all the more probable seeing that the besieging army was free to move about and could not be hindered in its marauding expeditions by the garrison of the fortress. This statement is confirmed by the records in our possession showing that the domain of Ungvár,—which was in the vicinity—was also devastated by the imperial hosts.

It was thus as the result of the devastations of German armies that the Ruthenian villages of Cis-Carpathia were destroyed in the latter half of the XVIIth century; and the destruction was so complete that the people which had increased continually in wealth during the period when it was under the overlordship of Hungarian landowners and of the Princes of Transylvania, had no chance of recovery when the domains—as the property of 'rebels'—were transferred to the possession of strangers or were under the control of the Treasury, the agent of the Vienna Court.

And the real starting point of the Rákóczi war of independence was the indignation felt by the Hungarian landowners when they saw how the Central German power was plunging the peasantry—their vassals—more and more deeply into the slough of misery. This action on the part of the German Court was its vengeance on the Ruthenians 'abounding in

golden ducats' of whom that Court had written so contemptuously in 1570.

And it was these downtrodden serfs (who remembered 'the happier days of yore,' to quote the words of the drafters of the Socage lists, themselves the henchmen of Vienna) that lighted the fire of the war of independence of 1703 and remained faithfully loyal to their feudal lords and to Rákóczy, —a course of action that would have been inconceivable had those lords been the authors of the devastations of the years 1684-8. This is how the Ruthenian people became the 'gens fidelissima' of Prince Rákóczy; this is why that people still cherish memories of their whilom ruler, looking back with regret to the economic position they then occupied. We have the names of 700 vassals from the districts of the domain of Munkács-Szentmiklós who served in various capacities in the army of 'our master' fighting under the command of French officers.

The Socage lists dating from the XVIIIth century enable us to follow with precision the gradual decline in wealth of the Ruthenians living at the foot of the Carpathians. Other peoples too have gone to war to recover what they had built in times of peace and strangers had demolished; but those other peoples have generally improved their lot. The Ruthenians alone suffered from one single act of destruction a loss which they have never been able to make good. The result of the land reform introduced under Maria Theresa in 1773— which aimed at a uniformity of 'sessions' in all domains— was to aggravate the ill-feeling between the feudal lords (who were mostly foreigners) and their vassals; for the land required to supplement the 'sessions' below the standard imposed by the new regulations was taken from the estates of the lords, while the exemption of the 'sessions' of the 'libertini' and the 'settlements agents' was cancelled. The 'sessions' held by the Ruthenians were made uniform in size and character; but this measure, as may well be imagined, did not contribute to augment their wealth.

The Hungarian Parliament of 1848 accepted the principle that socage work should be abolished, and transferred the ownership of the 'sessions' to the vassals; the measure was carried into effect by the imperial edict of 1851. Thus the

vassal was made the owner of the land which he had held as a fief. The measure involved an impoverishment of the landed proprietors; and at the same time the vassals were hit hard by the provision that the payment in kind previously in force should be replaced by *payment in cash*, though, as no proper measures had been taken to regulate the conditions of credit, the vassals failed to obtain ready money.

After obtaining a certain amount of independence in 1867 the Hungarian nation and their Governments (in particular Ignatius Darányi, Minister of Agriculture, during his term of office) made the most praiseworthy efforts to alleviate the wretched plight of the Ruthenians living at the foot of the Carpathians—‘Rákóczy’s vassals’—and to reinstate them in their former well-being by increasing their stock of animals; efforts which have been attended with a success that has won them the appreciation of foreign experts.

It is only to Providence that I can attribute the provision made by the Ambassadors’ Council to place this little people and their territory under its own particular care; for I know not what they have done to deserve such treatment. On the other hand, there are two things which I know for certain: (1) that the tearing away of this people from the rule which they have been under for so many centuries has been done without their knowledge or consent; and (2) that, under the new rule to which this people has been subjected, the ‘good old days’ show no signs of returning—cannot indeed return—that there will never again be farmers possessing ten oxen among them; for it is quite out of the question that the new rulers should be able to trace present conditions back to the past or desire to remedy them by reference to the past: *that* would be ‘favouring’ the Ruthenian people. So it is my firm conviction that the Ruthenians dwelling at the foot of the Carpathians will continue to speak longingly of the ‘good old days of yore’ and will not cease to long for a return of their whilom well-being.

